DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR AND LONG-TERM CAREER SUCCESS

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DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR AND

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For Granddad, missing you forever.

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SUMMARY

As increasing numbers of women have entered the workforce in the past four decades, research has highlighted the importance of understanding the changing roles of homemaker and employee, particularly the balance between household and paid labor. The purpose of this study was to examine the longitudinal relationship between spousal performance of household labor and objective and subjective career success in dual-career marriages. This study extends prior research by using longitudinal data and methods, as well as including spousal, rather than personal, performance of household labor. Archival data from the National Survey of Families and Households was used to test a moderated-mediation model that demonstrates the relationship of spousal performance of household labor to career success through time at work and perceived spousal support, as moderated by gender over the span of 11 years. Perceived spousal support was positively related to subjective career success, and all other direct and indirect hypothesized relationships were not significant. Potential implications and limitations are discussed.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Examination of the roles of homemaker and employee became important in work psychology literature during the second-wave feminist movement of the sixties and seventies. As more and more women join the workforce, researchers have sought to examine the changing roles of men and women at home now that women were at work (e.g. Bianchi, Sayer, Milkie, & Robinson, 2012; Coltrane, 2000; Holahan & Gilbert, 1979). Research suggests that dual-career households face unique challenges, strains, and stressors as they strive to build two full-time careers (Becker & Moen, 1999; Haddock & Rattenborg, 2003; Jordan, Cobb, & McCully, 1989; Petriglieri, 2019) Household division of labor, or the division of household tasks and chores among family members, has been linked to a few long-term career outcomes, like wage growth (Glass, 2004). While some recent studies have demonstrated interest in how household division of labor itself changes over time (Horne, Johnson, Galambos, & Krahn, 2018; Lam, McHale, & Crouter, 2012), there has generally been a dearth of empirical research linking division of household labor and men and women's long-term career outcomes (Shockley & Shen, 2016). In particular, the relationship between spousal performance of household labor and career success has largely been ignored.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the long-term implications of spousal performance of household labor on long-term objective and subjective career success among dual-career couples. Using Becker's (1965) theory of the allocation of time and the social constructionist view of social support theory (Lakey & Cohen, 2000) as guidance,

this study will propose a moderated-mediation longitudinal path model to explain the indirect relationship between division of household labor and career success (Figure 1).

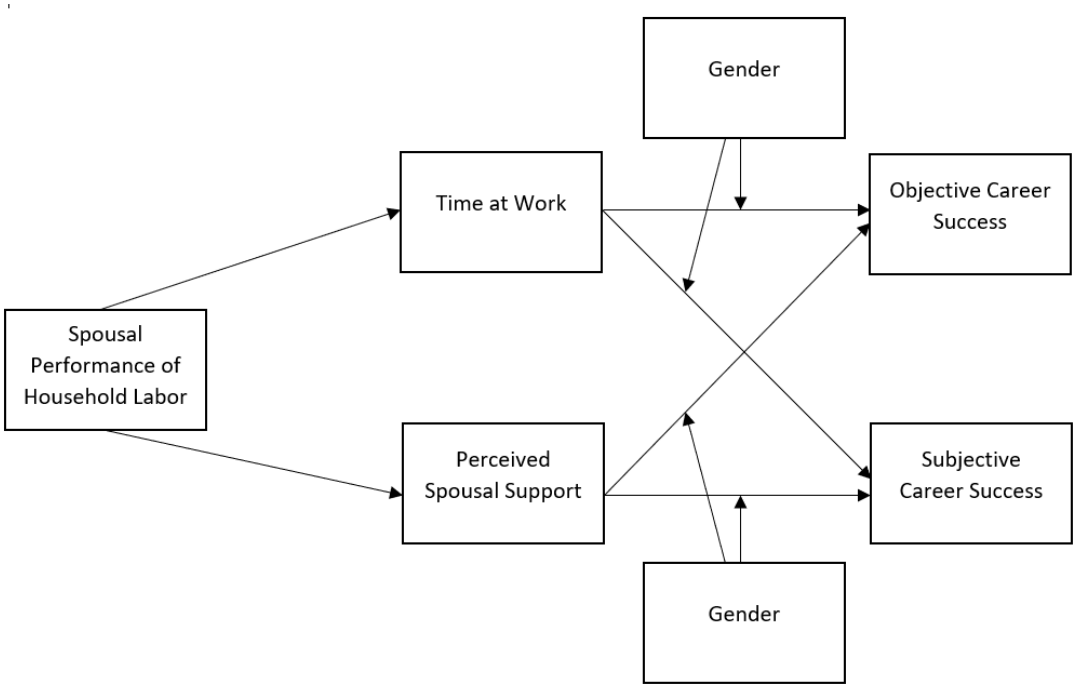

Figure 1. The proposed model.

First, I will examine an indirect path in which spousal performance of household labor is related to career success through time at work, moderated by gender. Second, I will examine an indirect path in which spousal performance of household labor is related to career success through perceived spousal support, also moderated by gender.

This paper makes several contributions to the existing literature on household labor and career success. Predictors of career success have oft been studied cross-sectionally (e.g. Judge, Cable, Boudreau, & Bretz, 1995; Mayrhofer, Meyer, Schiffinger, & Schmidt, 2008; Parasuraman, Purohit, Godshalk, & Beutell, 1996). For example, more hours spent performing housework has been linked to less income, particularly for women (Coltrane,

2000; Shelton & John, 1996). Additionally, hours spent performing housework has been negatively linked to job satisfaction (Zhao, Settles, & Sheng, 2011). A few studies have used longitudinal data to examine pieces of the proposed model. Cunningham (2008) found that among spouses, husbands' performance of housework in 1977 was positively related to wives' paid work hours in 1985. Horne et al. (2018) showed that increased housework hours are associated with decreased income and work hours at different life stages, though each correlation was derived cross-sectionally within life stage. Most relevantly, Noonan (2001) used the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) Waves 1 and 2 and fixed effects modeling to show that hours spent on housework is negatively related to income for married men and women within each wave. But, a cross-sectional snapshot of career success does not capture the years-long process of building a successful career. Career success is measured by markers that manifest over years or decades (Heslin, 2005), whether it is the deepening of relationships with coworkers or stepwise increases in pay. Given the enduring nature of both careers and relationships, it is conceptually prudent to examine the effect of spousal performance of household labor on career success longitudinally. The proposed study will use data from waves two and three of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH), which was collected over the course of 11 years. During analysis, path analysis will enable each part of the proposed model to be tested simultaneously while controlling for the effects of time two variables at time one. This represents an additional advantage over designs that have traditionally relied on simple regression analysis, which does not speak to the specific direction of relationships as they occur over time.

The proposed study also extends these works by including a measure of subjective career success to be analyzed in tandem with the objective measure of income. This addition will allow us to holistically study the construct of career success, which includes observable and quantifiable objective markers as well as reflective and personal subjective markers.

Next, this study proposes an indirect model, including two mediators and one moderator. This indirect model will illuminate the how and why of the demonstrated relationship between division of household labor and career success by examining the serial relationships between spousal performance of household labor, time at work, perceived spousal support, and career success.

By including gender as a moderator of the relationships between perceived spousal support, time at work, and career success, this study will add theoretical precision to the study of gender and career outcomes. Gender has oft been studied as a direct predictor of career success (e.g. Judge et al., 1995; Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005; Ng & Feldman, 2014). By positioning gender as a moderator of specific pieces of an indirect model, this study will illuminate when exactly gender becomes important in the longitudinal process of building a career, and whether spousal support and time at work affect the path to long-term career success differentially for men and women.

The final contribution of this study is the use of spousal performance of household labor as a predictor. Additionally, all participants will be in full-time dual-earning marriages. Prior cross-sectional studies have almost exclusively focused on an individual's performance of household labor and an individual's career outcomes, rather than

considering the role of a spouse or partner. Some longitudinal work has specifically considered men's housework and women's paid work hours (Cunningham, 2007, 2008; Nickols & Metzen, 1982). This study will simply use spousal performance of household labor as a predictor, so our analysis is not limited to understanding a single gender. The division of household labor and the division of household labor and paid labor are particularly difficult challenges for dual-career couples (Petriglieri, 2019; Jordan 1989; Haddock 2003). This study will clarify the importance of spousal support in the home to couples who have spent a decade or more both married and building a career.

1.1 Division of Household Labor and Time at Work

In the work and family literature, the distribution of household tasks and chores among spouses is typically referred to as division of household labor. This "family labor" is unpaid, domestic labor performed by family members in the home to maintain other family members and/or the home itself (Coltrane, 2000; Shelton & John, 1996). There are three categories of family labor: childcare, emotional work (sometimes called invisible labor), and household tasks (Coltrane, 2000). The present study is concerned with the third type, household tasks. This type of labor was selected because it is relevant to couples in long-term relationships with or without children. Household tasks include routine items such as cooking, laundry, and housecleaning, as well as more irregular items like yard care or home repair (Shockley & Shen, 2016). Division of labor has typically been measured by keeping a time diary or via direct questions about time use. Division of household labor has typically been reported either as number of hours or as a proportion of the total number of hours performed between partners (e.g. Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Shelton & John, 1996; Twiggs, McQuillan, & Ferree, 1999). Because this study is interested in partner

dynamics, a proportion of total hours spent by each partner on each specific task will be used.

Becker's economic theory of the allocation of time (1965) explains how the division of household labor between spouses may develop. The theory of the allocation of time argues that people are utility maximizers. Since time in the day is finite, people will naturally allocate time to where it will be used most efficiently. So, the spouse who is more adept at cleaning the dishes, for example, will spend more time performing that task than their partner. As one spouse devotes time and effort to housework, it frees up time and effort for the remaining spouse. Given the finite nature of time, there is also a natural proportional relationship between time spent performing household labor and time spent at work. Specific to the work-family literature, Edwards and Rothbard (2000) propose that resource drain occurs when finite personal resources, like time, are spent in the family domain versus the work domain. Empirically, it is well established that longer work hours are associated with performing fewer hours of housework (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, & Robinson, 2000; Coltrane, 2000; Horne et al., 2018; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Shelton & John, 1996). Across spouses, wives with husbands who work relatively more paid hours perform more hours of housework (Lam et al., 2012), and for every standard deviation increase in husbands' performance of housework, wives paid work hours increase by 1.6 hours per week (Cunningham, 2008). Thus, I predict:

Hypothesis 1: Spousal performance of household labor at time one is positively related to focal spouse's time at work at time two.

1.2 Division of Household Labor and Perceived Spousal Support

Social support is a complex construct that has been linked to numerous physical and psychological outcomes (Barrera, 1986). In the work and family domain, social support has been conceptualized as a "flow of resources" from one person to another, with the intention of helping or enhancing the well-being of the recipient (Parasuraman et al., 1996). Specifically, four different types of social support have been delineated: emotional support (empathy, esteem or concern), appraisal support (feedback), instrumental support (money, time or labor), and informational support (advice or direct information) (Carlson & Perrewé, 1999; House, 1981; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011). Considering these four types, instrumental support has been identified as particularly relevant to work-family research (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1994; Parasuraman et al., 1996; Shockley & Allen, 2015). When performing household tasks, spouses are providing resources like time and labor for their partner. Thus, performing household tasks is a type of instrumental spousal support, and has been operationalized as such previously in the work-family literature (Parasuraman et al., 1996).

Further, there is an empirically-distinct difference between social support that is actually provided and social support viewed as subjectively available, otherwise known as enacted versus perceived support. (Barrera, 1986; Sarason, Sarason, & Pierce, 1990; Uchino, 2009). In this paper, reported hours spent performing household tasks represents a measure of enacted, instrumental social support. Regarding perceived support, it has long been suggested that support perceptions are a result of enacted support behaviors (Barrera, 1986; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Lakey & Cohen, 2000). According to the social constructionist perspective of social support theory, as others provide social support, a person develops perceived beliefs about the supportiveness of others over time (Lakey &

Cohen, 2000). So, as spouses provide instrumental support via performance of household tasks, the recipient should perceive them as a source of social support. Studies have shown positive correlations of varying strength between receipt of support behaviors and perceptions (e.g. Barrera, 1986; Haber, Cohen, Lucas, & Baltes, 2007; Lakey et al., 2002). This variance is thought to be due to the influences of support provider and receiver characteristics, like supportive beliefs and relationship quality, as well as the length of time between measurements (Cohen, Sherrod, & Clark, 1986; Lakey & Cohen, 2000; Lakey, McCabe, Fisicaro, & Drew, 1996; Lakey, Orehek, Hain, & VanVleet, 2010). However, recent meta-analyses report moderate to strong correlations between support behaviors and support perceptions (French, Dumani, Allen, & Shockley, 2018; Haber et al., 2007; Kurtessis et al., 2017). Experimentally, it has been demonstrated that receipt of supportive behaviors over the past 30 days is positively related to perceived social support (Cheng, 1999; Emmons & Colby, 1995; Lakey et al., 2002; Lakey et al., 2010). Thus, I predict:

> *Hypothesis 2*: Spousal performance of household labor at time one is positively related to focal spouse's perceived spousal support at time two.

1.3 Time at Work, Perceived Spousal Support, and Career Success

Hall (1976) defined a career as "the individually-perceived sequence of attitudes and behaviors associated with work-related experiences and activities over the span of a person's life." Greenhaus (2010) acknowledged that every person "accumulates a unique series of jobs, positions, and experiences", and defines a career as "the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life." If a career is conceptualized as such a unique and personal experience, judging its success could be difficult. In the early

20th century, Hughes (1937) posited that a successful career moves through a series of increasing statuses or progressive achievement and responsibility, i.e. milestones that can be observed. He also proposed that career success could be thought of as one's self-perception and perception of their role within the company as time passes in their career (1937, 1958). More recently, career success has been defined as "the positive psychological or work-related outcomes or achievements one has accumulated as a result of one's work experiences" (Judge et al., 1995).

These definitions demonstrate that career success can be both thought of and measured in two ways: objectively and subjectively (Greenhaus et al., 2010; Heslin, 2005). Objective career success has been operationalized as income, number or frequency of promotions, or job status (Ballout, 2007; Hughes, 1937). These types of observable and quantifiable measures are present in a variety of modern societies (Nicholson, 2000). Subjective career success has been operationalized as job satisfaction, perceptions of progress, or satisfaction with career achievements (Ballout, 2007; Greenhaus & Callanan, 2012). Since Thorndike (1934) used global job satisfaction as a measure of career success, and it has endured in the literature as the simplest and most frequent measure of subjective career success (Greenhaus et al., 2010; Judge et al., 1995). The relationship between objective and subjective career success has been investigated. It is reasonable to expect that subjective and objective career success are correlated, given that a variable like income may indicate objective career success and also engender feelings of subjective career success. Meta-analysis has demonstrated that, while subjective and objective career success are significantly correlated, estimates of shared variance between the two are low

(Ng et al., 2005). In order to capture these related but empirically distinct parts of career success, this study will use measures of both objective and subjective career success.

Considering again Becker's (1965) theory of allocation of time, as one spouse performs household labor, focal spouse is required to allocate fewer of their own hours to housework. Focal spouse then has the freedom to re-allocate hours from the family to the paid work domain. Becker's related, earlier (1964) human capital theory posits that employers reward the time employees' invest in their companies with income. As utility maximizers, employees are thus motivated to allocate their freed-up time to the paid work domain. Time spent at work has an established empirical relationship with income (Ng et al., 2005). Time at work is also consistently, positively related to other objective career success measures like promotions (e.g., Judge & Bretz, 1994; Judge et al., 1995; Ng et al., 2005). Thus, I predict:

> *Hypothesis 3*: Time at work at time two is positively related to objective career success at time two.

Evident in the various definitions of subjective career success are references to how a career develops over time. Greenhaus (2012) wrote "from the subjective side, career success is viewed as a function of the individual's perception of satisfaction with the job and with *career progress*" (p. 27). In fact, developing attitudes like job satisfaction require self-evaluations that occur over time (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). Time spent at work is thus a critical component of the process of self-evaluation that is necessary to engender feelings of career satisfaction. Empirically, meta-analysis has demonstrated a significant

positive relationship between hours worked and the subjective career success measure of career satisfaction (Ng et al., 2005). In line with this evidence I predict:

> *Hypothesis 4*: Time at work at time two is positively related to subjective career success at time two.

The beneficial nature of spousal support is explained by the social constructionist view of social support theory, which proposes that perceived support produces beneficial effects for the self, like increased self-esteem and well-being (Lakey & Cohen, 2000). In particular, perceived support is strongly associated with self-evaluation (Lakey & Cassady, 1990; Lakey & Cohen, 2000). Measures of subjective career success, like aforementioned job and career satisfaction, require employees to make personal evaluations of their career progression. Alternatively, social support can also be thought of more generally as an interpersonal resource. These resources are then available to accrue other resources, and to meet demands (Hobfoll, 1989; Lakey & Cohen, 2000). When employees devote resources to their employers, they are rewarded with pay and other incentives (Becker, 1964). Indeed, prior studies show social support has beneficial effects on tangible work-role outcomes. Family support is positively related to work satisfaction (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007), and spousal support specifically is positively related to career and job satisfaction (Bures, Henderson, Mayfield, Mayfield, & Worley, 1995; Ferguson, Carlson, Kacmar, & Halbesleben, 2016; Patel, Beekhan, Paruk, & Ramgoon, 2008; Rosin, 1990; Rudd & McKenry, 1986). Family support is also positively related to organizational commitment (Marcinkus, Whelan-Berry, & Gordon, 2007), professional empowerment (Chen, Fu, Li, Lou, & Yu, 2012), and job tenure (Huffman, Casper, & Payne, 2014). Thus, I predict:

Hypothesis 5: Perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to objective career success at time two.

Hypothesis 6: Perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to subjective career success at time two.

1.4 Connecting Division of Household Labor and Career Success

In addition to the hypothesized direct relationships, I posit serial mediated relationships between division of household labor, time at work and perceived spousal support, and objective and subjective career success. A direct relationship has been demonstrated between division of household labor and career success (Noonan, 2001). However, I propose that the mechanism through which division of household labor affects objective and subjective career success is through the mediators of time at work and spousal support. The theory of the allocation of time (Becker, 1965) suggests that spousal allocation of hours to household labor will increase focal spouse's available hours for paid work, and that increased time spent at work will engender career success. Social support theory posits that spousal performance of household labor will lead to perceived instrumental support, and this spousal support will produce beneficial work role outcomes (Barrera, 1986; Lakey & Cohen, 2000). Following this reasoning, I expect division of household labor to relate to career success through time at work and perceived spousal support.

Hypothesis 7: There is an indirect positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and objective career success through time at work.

Hypothesis 8: There is an indirect positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and subjective career success through time at work.

Hypothesis 9: There is an indirect positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and objective career success through perceived spousal support.

Hypothesis 10: There is an indirect positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and subjective career success through perceived spousal support.

1.5 The Moderating Role of Gender

Social role theory posits that men and women enact separate social roles, like employee for men and caretaker for women, based on a complicated interaction between biological differences, reinforcement, internalization and socialization (Eagly, 1987; Eagly & Wood, 2011). Biological sex differences, like upper body strength for men and carrying children for women, enable men and women to perform different types of labor. As people witness men and women performing separate labor, they make seemingly relevant character trait attributions, like agency and aggression for men, and communion and helpfulness for women (Eagly & Wood, 2011). As men and women occupy these bio-socially determined gender roles, they also acquire skills and resources that allow them to succeed in these roles. Thus gender roles are continuously reinforced, because they appear to "reflect something innate", when in reality, gender roles are a result of environmental circumstance (Eagly & Wood, 2011). These beliefs persist so deeply that men and women's

gender roles become integrated into the societal gender hierarchy at large (Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000).

Social role theory further argues that people are rewarded for conforming to gender roles with approval and social interaction, and people are penalized for deviating from gender roles with subtle sanctions. Women in the workplace in particular receive differential, negative treatment when they perform male-stereotypic leadership actions, are assertive, are dominant, or overly competent (Carli, 2001; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Heilman, 2012; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004; Shackelford, Wood, & Worchel, 1996). Some researchers argue gender roles in the workplace are becoming less pronounced and men are taking on more traditionally feminine work (e.g. Duehr & Bono, 2006; Lease, 2003; Perrone, Wright, & Jackson, 2009), but other recent research still suggests that men place more value on work roles than women (Cinamon & Rich, 2002; Emslie & Hunt, 2009) and women are penalized for role deviance in the workplace (Heilman, 2012). Based on this theory, it seems reasonable to conclude that gender would moderate the relationship between predictors like time at work and social support and career success such that the relationship is weaker for women. Though women may be investing similar time and effort into their work roles as men, the weight of gender stereotypes and penalties for role deviance may dampen their ultimate career success outcomes.

Contrary to this conclusion, empirical tests of gender as a moderator of the relationship between resources and career success are mixed. Melamed (1995, 1996) found that the relationships between some human capital and personality inputs and career success were stronger for women and some were stronger for men. Newer research has

since found that gender moderates the relationship between human capital inputs and career success such that the relationship is stronger for men with regards to pay, but stronger for women with regards to ascendency and subjective career success (Orser & Leck, 2010). Ng et al.'s (2005) meta-analysis showed that for human capital inputs, including time at work, the relationship between such inputs and career success was stronger for women than men. Additionally, gender has been shown to moderate the relationship between spousal support and work satisfaction such that the relationship is stronger for women (Phillips-Miller, Campbell, & Morrison, 2000). These effects are thought to be explained by women exceeding their managers' expectations in the workplace (Ng et al., 2005). This line of thinking is not in conflict social role theory. Managers expect women to spend less time at work and to have fewer resources to invest in work (Eagly & Wood, 2011; Melamed, 1996). Gender stereotypes based on social roles dictate that women do not fit the prototype of a traditionally successful employee, so managers have low expectations for women's ability and performance (Heilman, 2001, 2012). Further, classic attribution theory would suggest that abilities and behaviors that are "prescription-inconsistent" are salient and not easily ignored (e.g. Jones & Davis, 1965; Kelley & Michela, 1980). So, when women invest resources at work, they may be more easily recognized and rewarded for their efforts. Thus, I predict:

> *Hypothesis 11*: Gender will moderate the relationship between time at work and objective career success such that the relationship will be stronger for women than for men.

Hypothesis 12: Gender will moderate the relationship between time at work and subjective career success such that the relationship will be stronger for women than for men.

Hypothesis 13: Gender will moderate the relationship between perceived spousal support and objective career success such that the relationship will be stronger for women than for men.

Hypothesis 14: Gender will moderate the relationship between perceived spousal support and subjective career success such that the relationship will be stronger for women than for men.

CHAPTER 2. METHOD

2.1 Participants

Archival data from the second (time one) and third waves (time two) of the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) was analyzed. The NSFH was funded by the Center for Population Research of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and administered by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, with the purpose of providing a rich understanding of the family for researchers of all disciplines (Bumpass, Sweet, & Call, 2017). NSFH Wave 1 is a national, multi-stage probability sample of 13,017 total respondents (primary respondents and secondary respondents) in the United States. Households that were randomly selected received a letter from the survey team introducing the study and letting potential respondents know that an interviewer would be visiting their home. A brief screening survey was administered to ascertain how many adults and children resided in the household. Then, one adult from the household was randomly chosen to act as the primary respondent. Current spouses served as the secondary respondent. Surveys were administered in person in interview format. There were two follow-up waves of study. Wave 2 was collected from 1992 to 1994 with a final sample of 10,008 total (primary and secondary) respondents. Wave 3 was collected from 2001 to 2003 with a final sample of 7,277 (primary and secondary) total respondents. Each wave includes detailed family and employment information, including information from the respondent and the respondent's spouse (Bumpass & Sweet, 2018a, 2018b).

Participants eligible for the current study were adults, ages 18-65, who participated in both Wave 2 and Wave 3 of the NSFH. To avoid dyadic couple effects, spouses

(secondary respondents) were considered ineligible, leaving 4,342 primary respondents for analysis. After filtering for respondents between ages 18 and 65, 3,702 were available for analysis. Each respondent must have been married to the same spouse at each timepoint, further reducing available respondents to 2,098. Each respondent and their spouse must have data for at least seven of nine household tasks, leaving 1,699 respondents. Finally, each respondent and their spouse must have been working full time (35 or more hours per week) for pay during both waves of study, ultimately yielding a sample size of 316 respondents for analysis. A sample size of 316 with 13 degrees of freedom and a desired RMSEA of .08 yields a power for this study of .99 (Preacher & Coffman, 2006). The sample was 53% female with an average age of 42 (SD = 5.34) and predominantly White (83%), followed by Black (13%), Hispanic (2%), and Asian (2%). Most respondents had a high school diploma (36%), followed by a bachelor's degree (19%), some college (19%), and a master's degree (11%). The most common industries worked in were elementary and secondary school (10%), construction (5%), hospitals (5%), and health services (4%). Most respondents had no children (32%), with a range from zero to seven (Mean = 1.32). For reference, the spouses of these respondents were 47% female with an average age of 41 (SD = 5.95). They were predominantly White (81%), followed by Black (13%), Hispanic (3%), and Asian (2%). Most spouses had a high school diploma (27%), followed by some college (23%), a bachelor's degree (20%), and a master's degree (12%). The most common industries worked in were elementary and secondary school (10%), construction (6%), hospitals (4%), and postal services (3%).

2.2 Measures

2.2.1 Spousal Performance of Household Labor

In Wave 2, respondents and their spouses each reported the number of hours spent on nine specific household tasks per week (e.g., “How many hours per week do you, yourself, normally spend washing dishes and cleaning up after meals?”). An overall proportion of labor was calculated for each participant by dividing their sum total reported hours performing housework by the sum total of both spouses’ reported hours performing housework. For a full list of tasks and questions, please see Appendix A.

2.2.2 Time at Work

In Wave 2 and Wave 3, respondents reported their number of hours worked last week (“How many hours did you work last week?”), whether or not this was their usual number of hours per week, and if no, how many hours they usually worked per week. If the respondent answered “yes” to whether or not this was their usual number of hours, the number of hours worked last week was used for analysis. If the respondent answered “no”, then the reported usual number of hours worked each week was used.

2.2.3 Perceived Spousal Support

In Wave 2 and Wave 3, respondents answered “How happy are you with the understanding you receive from your spouse?” on a scale from one to seven, with one corresponding to “very unhappy” and seven corresponding to “very happy”.

2.2.4 Objective Career Success

In Wave 2 and Wave 3, objective career success was measured by the respondents’ income. Income was reported as an annual salary, a monthly or weekly amount, or an hourly wage. All income was converted to hourly wage (dollars per hour) for analysis. If a

respondent reported a yearly salary, this amount was converted by dividing by 52 weeks, and then dividing by the usual number of hours worked each week. If a respondent reported a monthly salary, this amount was converted by dividing by 4.33 weeks, and then dividing by the usual number of hours worked each week. If a respondent reported a weekly salary, this amount was converted by dividing by the usual number of hours worked each week.

2.2.5 Subjective Career Success

In Wave 2 and Wave 3, subjective career success was measured with the item "On a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 is very dissatisfied and 7 is very satisfied, overall, how satisfied are you with your present job?"

2.2.6 Gender

In Wave 2, respondent's gender was recorded as male or female.

2.2.7 Number of Children

In Wave 2, number of children was determined by asking respondents the number of children ages 0-18 currently in the household.

2.2.8 Industry Change

In Wave 2 and Wave 3, respondents reported the industry of their main job by selecting one of 245 industries. To determine whether they stayed in the same industry or changed industries, an industry change variable was created. This variable was coded as 0 if respondents reported working in the same industry in Wave 2 and Wave 3, and was coded as 1 if respondents reported working in different industries in Wave 2 and Wave 3.

CHAPTER 3. RESULTS

3.1 Preliminary Analyses

Assumption checking, correlations and descriptive statistics analyses were completed in SPSS. I checked the data for assumptions of normality, including outliers, linearity, homogeneity of variance, homoscedasticity, and systematic missingness. Normality and the presence of outliers were assessed using descriptive statistics and by reviewing frequency tables and histograms for each variable. Upon visual inspection of the histograms, four potential outliers were detected. To further be determined as outliers, these data points must lie at least 2.24 standard deviations above the mean, and must appear to be recorded in error (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Joo, 2013). Two of these potential outliers were present in the objective career success Wave 3 income variable, one outlier was in the Wave 2 income variable, and one outlier was in the Wave 3 time at work variable. Each data point was further investigated. The Wave 3 income outliers had income values of $999 per hour and $507.70 per hour. Each respondent was male, and worked a usual number of hours (50 per week). Their data was otherwise complete, so I suspect these values were recorded in error. Similarly, the Wave 2 income outlier was a male working 40 hours per week with a recorded income of $161.54. Their data was also otherwise unremarkable, and I concluded that this value was also likely recorded in error. Statistically, all three of these income data points were well more than 2.24 standard deviations above the mean. Thus, all three of these data points were identified as outliers and removed from the sample, leaving 313 respondents for analysis. The fourth potential outlier from the Wave 3 time at work variable was further inspected. This respondent was a female who reported working

94 hours per week. This respondent reported working in childcare, and did not report an income. Given this, I suspect that this value was recorded in error. Statistically, this data point also fell more than 2.24 standard deviations above the mean (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Joo, 2013), and I identified this data point as an outlier. After removal, this left 312 respondents for analysis. This new sample size of 312, with 13 degrees of freedom and a desired RMSEA of .08, yields a power for this study of .99. In order to present my findings with the least bias possible, all main analyses were run with outliers as well. Those results are presented for comparison to the final data set in Figure 3.

When inspecting data for linearity and normality, Wave 2 and Wave 3 income appeared to be non-normally distributed. Upon visual inspection of the histograms, as well as inspecting their respective Q-Q plots, I suspected Wave 2 and Wave 3 income to be logarithmically distributed. Indeed, log transforming the data produced plots that appeared normal. In order to address this deviation from normality, robust methods were used during hypothesis testing. All effects were estimated using 5,000 bootstrapped iterations (Loehlin & Beaujean, 2016). No other assumptions appeared to be violated.

Next, I examined missingness in my variables of interest. When missing data comprise less than 5% of your sample, missing data can be considered missing at random and missing data treatments are generally equivalent (Tabachnick, Fidell, & Ullman, 2007). Missing data comprised 3.1% of the data of the variables in my sample. The full path model was analyzed using the full information maximum likelihood method, so missing data was estimated within the analysis (Enders & Bandalos, 2001).

Correlations and descriptive statistics for all variables of interest, as well as skewness and kurtosis, are reported in Table 1.

Table 1. Correlations.

Variable	*M*	*SD*	*Skew*	*Kurtosis*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Spousal proportion of household labor	0.47	0.15	-0.02	-0.01											
2. Perceived spousal support, time one	5.51	1.29	-0.95	0.65	-.01										
3. Perceived spousal support, time two	5.94	1.22	-1.48	2.47	.05	.41**									
4. Time at work, time one	44.00	7.74	2.14	5.34	.02	-.07	.04								
5. Time at work, time two	43.81	6.88	1.88	4.89	-.07	-.09	.02	.44**							
6. Income, time one	14.06	6.56	1.37	4.20	.03	-.12	.05	-.03	.19**						
7. Income, time two	21.08	11.14	3.86	30.67	.05	-.02	.00	.11	.07	.67**					
8. Job satisfaction, time one	5.13	1.41	-0.79	0.33	.03	.04	.10	.01	.11*	.09	.09				
9. Job satisfaction, time two	5.48	1.26	-1.17	1.95	-.07	.08	.27**	-.01	.02	-.01	.02	.33**			
10. Number of children	1.33	1.24	0.92	1.14	-.06	-.09	-.08	.02	-.03	-.09	-.12	.03	.00		
11. Industry change	0.55	0.50	-0.19	-1.98	-.06	.12*	.16**	-.10	-.12*	-.02	-.07	-.05	.03	-.06	
12. Gender (1 = male)	0.46	0.50	0.16	-1.99	-.14*	.08	.01	.18**	.13*	.29**	.21**	-.02	-.03	-.02	.04

3.2 Hypothesis Testing

Path analysis was performed using the sem function in the lavaan package in R. The full model included all direct and indirect hypothesized relationships (Hypotheses 1–10), as well as Wave 2 values of all Wave 3 variables (time at work, perceived spousal support, objective career success, and subjective career success) as controls. By controlling for Wave 2 values, my path coefficients are predicting change in time at work, perceived spousal support, and objective and subjective career success from Wave 2 to Wave 3. Effects were estimated using 5000 bootstrapped iterations (Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Correlations and descriptive statistics for all variables can be found in Table 1. Initial support for the hypothesized relationships appears low. Most correlations are very small and not significant. However, all of the Wave 2 control variables (time at work, perceived spousal support, objective and subjective career success) are positively correlated with their respective Wave 3 counterparts.

Overall model fit was assessed using the comparative fit index (CFI) and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA). A CFI greater than or equal to .90 and an RMSEA value less than .10 will indicate adequate fit, and a CFI greater than or equal to .95 and an RMSEA value less than .05 will indicate excellent fit (Bentler, 1990; Hooper, 2008; MacCallum, Browne & Sugawara, 1996). The overall fit for this model containing all direct and indirect hypothesized relationships was adequate ($\chi^2(13) = 44.82$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .10, AIC = 5,097). Results of this path analysis with standardized estimates are found in Figure 2.

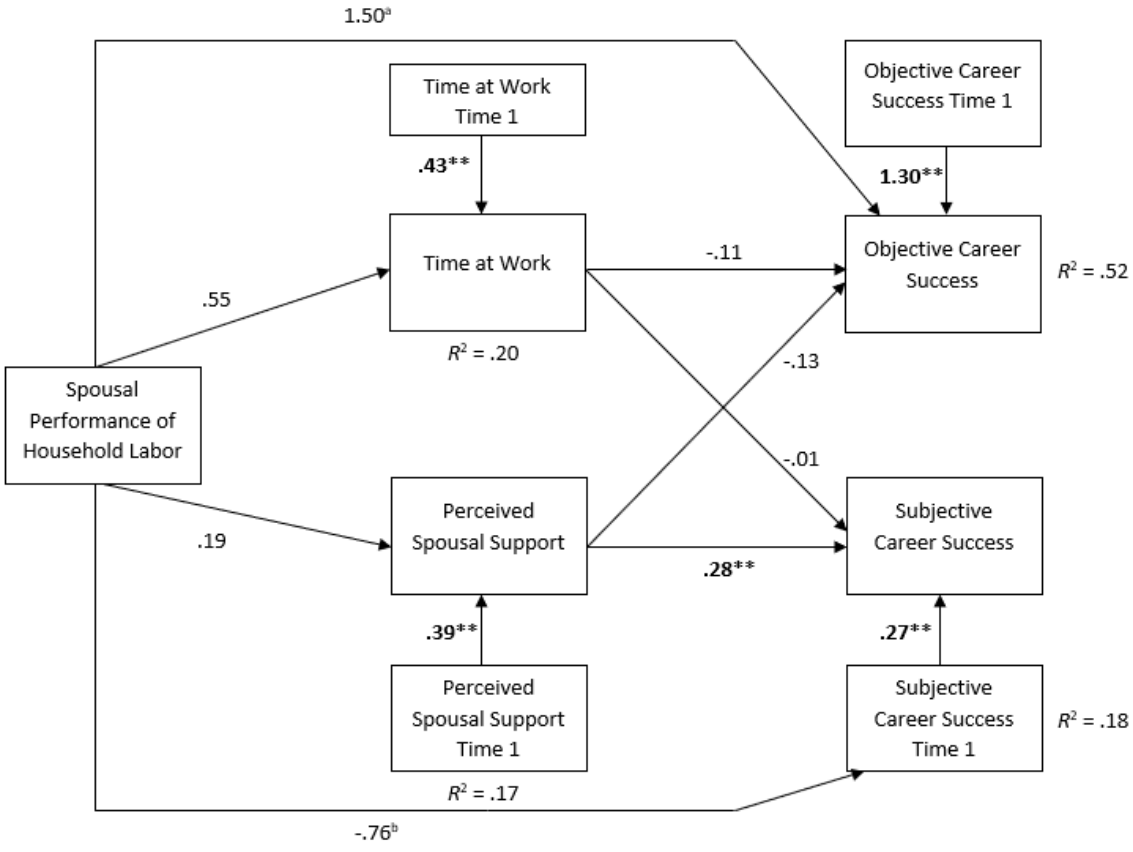

Figure 2. Results of main path model.

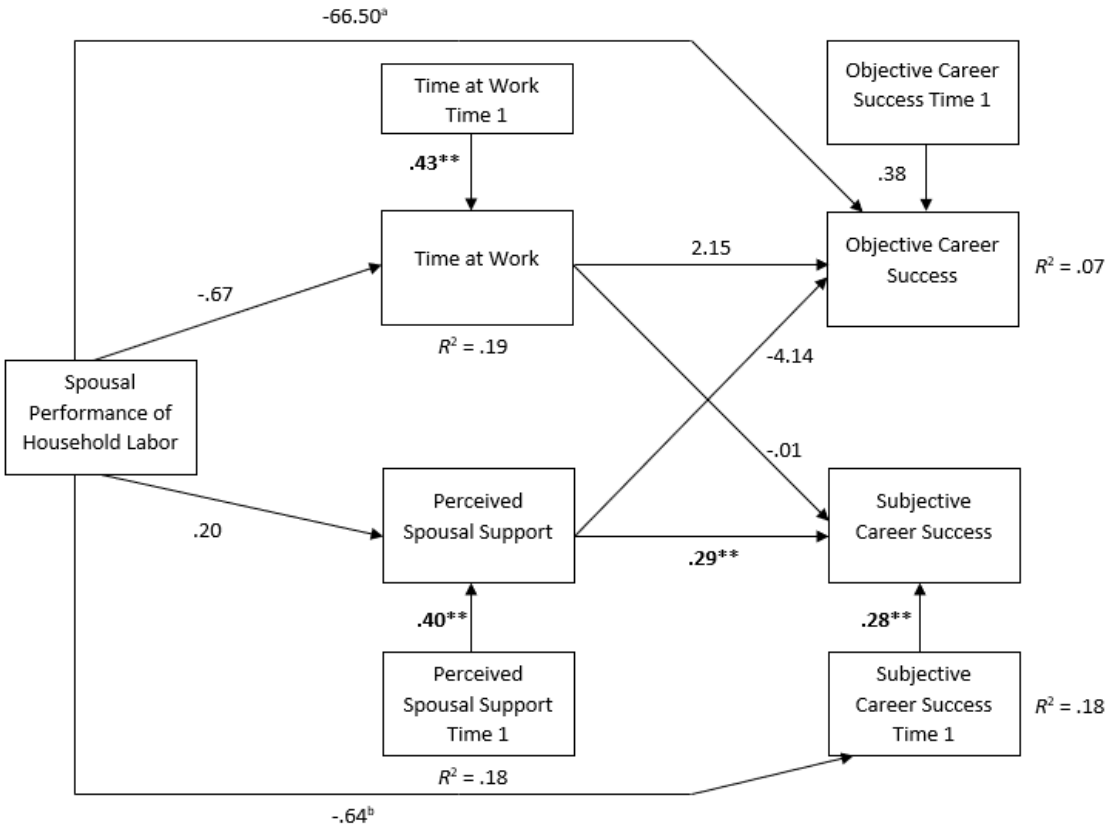

Figure 3. Results of main path model with outliers.

Most hypotheses for this study were unsupported. Spousal performance of household labor was not a significant predictor of time at work (β = .55, *p* = .79) nor perceived spousal support (β = .19, *p* = .69). Thus, Hypothesis 1, which stated that spousal performance of household labor at time one is positively related to focal spouse's time at work at time two, and Hypothesis 2, which stated that spousal performance of household labor at time one is positively related to focal spouse's perceived spousal support at time two, were not supported. Additionally, time at work was not a significant predictor of objective (β = -.11, *p* = .15) nor subjective (β = -.01, *p* = .49) career success. Thus, Hypotheses 3 and 4, which stated that time at work at time two is positively related to objective (Hypothesis 3) and subjective (Hypothesis 4) career success at time two were not supported. Hypothesis 5,

which stated that perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to objective career success at time two, was not supported (β = -.13, *p* = .67). However, perceived spousal support was significantly, positively related to subjective career success (β = .28, *p* < .01). Thus, Hypothesis 6, which stated that perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to subjective career success at time two, was supported. Hypotheses 7 and 8 stated there was an indirect, positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and objective (Hypothesis 7) and subjective (Hypothesis 8) career success through time at work. However, neither Hypothesis was supported (Objective success: β = -.06, *p* = .84, 95% CI = [-.84, .38], Subjective success: β = -.01, *p* = .88, 95% CI = [-.09, .05]). Similarly, hypotheses 9 and 10 stated there was an indirect, positive relationship between spousal performance of household labor and objective (hypothesis 9) and subjective (hypothesis 10) career success through perceived spousal support. Neither hypothesis was supported (Objective success: β = -.02, *p* = .89, 95% CI = [-.49, .22], Subjective success: β = .05, *p* = .70, 95% CI = [-.20, .35]).

Hypotheses 11-14 examined whether respondent gender moderates the relationships between time at work and objective career success (hypothesis 11) and subjective career success (hypothesis 12), and whether gender moderates the relationships between perceived spousal support and objective career success (hypothesis 13) and subjective career success (hypothesis 14). Moderation was assessed using observed variables to create interaction terms. First, all predictors were mean centered. Then, two interaction terms were created by multiplying gender by each relevant predictor- gender by perceived spousal support, and gender by time at work. Gender was then entered as a predictor of objective and subjective career success. Then, since gender was hypothesized

to moderate four relationships simultaneously in my model, I entered all interaction terms at the same time into the model. The interaction term gender by perceived spousal support was entered as a predictor of objective and subjective career success, and the interaction term gender by time at work was also entered as a predictor of objective and subjective career success. The interaction term for gender and time at work was not a significant predictor of objective (β = -.04, p = .76) nor subjective (β = .03, p = .22) career success. The interaction term for gender and perceived spousal support was not a significant predictor of objective (β = -.34, p = .58) nor subjective (β = -.05, p = .71) career success. Thus, hypotheses 11-14 were not supported.

In summary, of the 14 hypothesized relationships, only Hypothesis 6 was supported. Hypothesis 6 stated that perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to subjective career success at time two.

3.3 Supplementary Analyses

3.3.1 Control Variables

Number of children and job industry change were identified as potential covariates. Number of children was entered into the model as a possible predictor of spousal proportion of household labor. As number of children increase, the amount of household tasks to be done also likely increases (cleaning, cooking, driving, etc.) Job industry change was entered as a predictor of both objective and subjective career success. Employees looking to make a career change often do so to maximize their income, their happiness, or both (e.g. Becker, 1965; Carless & Arnup, 2011; Kautonen, Kibler, & Minniti, 2017). The model containing these additional relationships as well as the original hypothesized

relationships was run. Model fit remained adequate ($\chi^2(24) = 51.99$, CFI = .91, RMSEA = .07, AIC = 4,841, ΔAIC = 256). Number of children was not a significant predictor of spousal performance of household labor, (β = -.01, p = .26), and job industry change was not a significant predictor of objective (β = -.33, p = .78) nor subjective career success (β = -.07, p = .61). Fit statistics for this model, as well as all other supplementary models for comparison, can be found in Table 2.

Table 2. Supplementary model comparisons.

	Model	*N*	χ^2	*df*	*CFI*	*RMSEA*	*AIC*	*ΔAIC*[b]
1.	Hypothesized model[a]	312	44.82	13	.90	.10	5,097	-
2.	Additional covariates	312	51.99	24	.91	.07	4,841	-256
3.	Thirty hours per week	373	38.21	13	.93	.08	5,941	844
4.	All part-time work	535	32.85	13	.96	.06	8,734	3,637
5.	Tasks imputed with zeroes	312	44.76	13	.90	.09	5,097	0
6.	Tasks imputed with mean	312	44.77	13	.90	.10	5,097	0
7.	Data for all nine tasks	292	43.54	13	.90	.10	4,818	-279
8.	Multiple-group, configural	312	72.29	26	.85	.12	4,812	-301
9.	Multiple-group, constrained	312	89.18	42	.85	.09	4,796	-301

3.3.2 Full-Time vs. Part-Time

To ascertain whether focusing only on full-time workers with a full-time working spouse had an effect on the overall model and the hypothesized relationships, the structural equation model was run in two additional samples. Narrowing the sample to only respondents working 35 hours or more could be creating restriction of range. To see if the hypothesized relationships held in a larger sample, first, the minimum number of hours worked per week for respondents and their spouses was dropped to 30. Working at least 30 hours per week is the United States' IRS standard to determine that an employee is a full-time worker eligible for certain benefits (IRS, 2020). This yielded a sample of 373 respondents for analysis. Overall model fit was slightly better ($\chi^2(13) = 38.21$, CFI = .93,

RMSEA = .08, AIC = 5,941, ΔAIC = 844). The direct and indirect relationships followed the same pattern as the original model, with perceived spousal support significantly predicting subjective career success (β = .25, $p < .01$). No other hypothesized relationships were significant.

Second, the model was changed to include respondents who worked any number of hours greater than zero and who had a spouse working any number of hours greater than zero. This yielded a sample of 535 participants for analysis. Overall model fit was good ($\chi^2(13) = 32.85$, CFI = .96, RMSEA = .06, AIC = 8,734, ΔAIC = 3637). The direct and indirect relationships followed the same pattern as the original model, with perceived spousal support significantly predicting subjective career success (β = .24, $p < .01$). No other hypothesized relationships were significant.

3.3.3 Computing Task Data

Spousal performance of household labor was a computed variable, and as such, missing data needed to be addressed for computation. Following the recommendations of Little (1988), missing data for household tasks was imputed in the following ways. For any respondent missing data for up to two of the nine items, a value of 0 was imputed when the item was answered as "inapplicable" or skipped completely. For respondents who indicated an "unspecified" amount of time or said they do not know, the value of the mean time for that task was imputed. Any respondent that was missing data for three or more household tasks was not included in the final analysis. To make sure this method of imputation was appropriate, treating all missing or non-numerical responses as zero, substituting all missing or non-numerical responses with the mean, and only including respondents who

had data for all nine tasks were also used and tested. Overall model fit remained adequate when imputing with zeroes ($\chi^2(13) = 44.76$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .09, AIC = 5,097, ΔAIC = 0), the mean ($\chi^2(13) = 44.77$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .10, AIC = 5,097, ΔAIC = 0), and omitting respondents without all nine tasks ($\chi^2(13) = 43.54$, CFI = .90, RMSEA = .10, AIC = 4,818, ΔAIC = 279), and all relationships followed the same pattern of significance and non-significance. This overall method is consistent with prior studies that have utilized household task data from the NSFH (Noonan, 2001; South & Spitze, 1994).

3.3.4 Multiple-Group Analysis

Gender was thought to play a role in the hypothesized model by moderating the relationships between time at work and perceived spousal support with objective and subjective career success. Since these hypothesized relationships were not significant, an exploratory multiple-group analysis by gender was performed to see if and where gender differences were present in the model. For example, we know that men typically perform more paid work, and women typically perform more household labor (Shockley & Shen, 2016). It is also possible that the entire structural model varied by gender. This multiple-group analysis was performed using the sem function in the lavaan package in R, utilizing the "group" argument. The first run in the analysis was the baseline or configural model, which utilized no cross-group constraints and allowed all parameters to vary. Overall fit for this configural model was poor ($\chi^2(26) = 72.29$, CFI = .85, RMSEA = .12, AIC = 4,812, ΔAIC = 285). The next step in the analysis was to run a fully constrained model, where all parameters are constrained to be equal across the two groups. Overall fit for this fully constrained model was also poor ($\chi^2(42) = 89.18$, CFI = .85, RMSEA = .09, AIC = 4,796, ΔAIC = 301). The two models did not differ significantly in fit ($\Delta\chi^2 = 16.89$, p = .39). This

non-significant difference indicates that there is not evidence for gender differences in the hypothesized model, and no further steps were performed.

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

This study drew on classic economic theory of the allocation of time and social constructionist support theory to explain variance in the relationship between spousal performance of household labor and career success through the mediators of time at work and perceived spousal support. Additionally, I examined the role of gender as a moderator. Making use of archival data, this study was a first step exploration into the relationship between these variables over time and among dual-earning couples. I tested 14 hypotheses. Hypothesis 6, which stated that perceived spousal support at time two is positively related to subjective career success at time two, was supported. Perceived spousal support was significantly and positively related to subjective career success, measured here with a job satisfaction item. This is consistent with the social constructionist view of social support theory, which proposes that perceived support produces beneficial effects for the self, like increased self-esteem, self-evaluation, and well-being (Lakey & Cohen, 2000). This relationship held across genders, and across all dual-earning couples, part or full-time. Thus, this study emphasizes the strength and importance of spousal support to achieving subjective career success.

Contrary to expectations, hypotheses one through five and seven through fourteen were not supported. Spousal performance of household labor at time one was not positively related to time at work at time two (hypothesis 1). This result is contrary to both theoretical expetcations based on Becker's economic theory of the allocation of time (1965) as well as prior empirical investigations (e.g. Lam et al., 2012, Cunningham, 2008). Our results suggest that the reciprocal relationship suggested by Becker may not hold over a long span

of time. Becker's (1964, 1965) theories on the allocation of time and return on human capital do not specify a particular timeframe, but they do suggest that effects can be fairly immediate. Over the course of 11 years, unmeasured work and family factors may have affected participants' allocation of household and paid work hours. In a similar vein, time at work was not positively related to objective career success (hypothesis 3). But, this does not violate Becker's (1964) proposition that employees are rewarded for the time and resources that they invest into work. Participants may have been rewarded with alternate markers of objective career success besides income, such as promotions, changes in job status or title, and benefits. Time at work was also not related to subjective career success (hypothesis 4). This is contrary to a meta analytic finding from Ng et al. in 2005 which demonstrated that hours worked has a positive relationship with career satisfaction. There are additional work-related factors that are negatively related to subjective career success, such as low job control, low job challenge, poor organizational support, and poor supervisor support (Ng & Feldman, 2014). As time at work increased, exposure to these unmeasured factors may have affected our participants and neutralized the benefit of inputting more work hours.

Spousal performance of household labor at time one was also not related to perceived spousal support at time two (hypothesis 2). This is surprising, given that support perceptions are often a result of enacted support behaviors (Barrera, 1986; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Lakey & Cohen, 2000) and, according to the social constructionist perspective of social support theory, a person develops perceived beliefs about the supportiveness of others over time (Lakey & Cohen, 2000). Two practical reasons may explain this finding. First, my measure of social support was a single item about the

understanding one receives from their spouse. While this question assesses perceived support, it most closely aligns with the emotional type of social support. Spousal performance of household labor aligns with instrumental social support. Thus, in this case enacted support may not have engendered perceived support of a different type. Second, while beliefs about support develop over time, the amount of time is not agreed upon (Lakey & Cohen, 2000). Empirical studies on support perceptions have used time spans ranging from days to months (e.g. Cohen et al., 1986; Lakey et al., 2002; Lakey et al., 2010). A span of 11 years may have been too much time between receipt of enacted support and measuring perceived support.

Additionally, perceived spousal support was not related to objective career success, so hypothesis 5 was not supported. Like the relationship between time at work and objective success, participants may have been rewarded for their investment of resources with other markers of objective career success such as promotions, changes in job status, and benefits. The benefits of social support like increased self-esteem, well-being and self-evaluation (Lakey & Cassady, 1990; Lakey & Cohen, 2000) may more obviously map onto the concept of subjective career success, explaining the significant relationship between the two. Given the lack of support for five of six of our direct hypothesized relationships, it is unsurprising that the four hypothesized indirect paths were also unsupported.

Gender was hypothesized to moderate the relationships between time at work and perceived spousal support, and objective and subjective career success. I predicted when women invest resources at work, they may be more easily recognized and rewarded for their efforts. However, none of the interaction terms were significant. When multiple-group analysis by gender was performed, the constrained model was not significantly different

from the configural model. This result contradicts some previous empirical and meta-analytical findings (e.g. Melamed, 1995; Ng et al.2005). However, as discussed, overall empirical results regarding gender, career inputs, and career success are mixed. Social role theory however proposes that men and women have strong systemic beliefs about the roles of men and women in the workplace. As such, a measure of beliefs about gender roles may provide clearer insight than gender itself.

4.1 Implications for Theory and Practice

This study has theoretical and practical implications. From a theoretical standpoint, this study included classic economic theory by Becker (1960, 1964), the social constructivist view of social support theory (Lakey & Cohen, 2000), and social role theory (Eagly, 1987). The results from this study suggest that classic economic theory may not have straightforward effects on the division of household labor, and the division of household and paid labor. It appears that when full-time dual-earning spouses divide their labor, they may not be strict "utility maximizers". Unforeseen and unaccounted for family and work events, and contextual factors likely come into play. Social support theory however does clearly guide the relationship between perceived spousal support and career success, though less so the relationship between spousal performance of household labor and perceived spousal support. The effects of instrumental social support provided by a spouse may not endure over a long period of time like 11 years. But feeling supported by your spouse does appear to engender positive evaluations of your job and increase subjective career success. This result is in accordance with previous work-family studies (e.g. Bures et al.,1995; Ford et al., 2007; Ferguson et al., 2016).

Social role theory was thought to indicate why gender may moderate the relationships between time at work and perceived spousal support with career success. Social role theory suggests that women may be penalized for performing well at work, but it also suggests that managers have low expectations for women in the workplace (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, 2011). Prior results suggest that for some human capital inputs, the relationship between them and career success may be stronger for women than for men due to exceeding expectations (Ng et al., 2005). The results of this study do not support this rationale, as gender was not a significant moderator in this model. Given that social theory depends on strong beliefs about the roles of men and women, these results could suggest that beliefs or attitudes about gender roles could be a more relevant moderator than gender itself. Examining this in a future study is discussed in future directions.

Empirically, this study answers the call for more research on division of labor configurations and long-term career outcomes like career success. It extends prior longitudinal work on division of household labor and income to include measures of both objective and subjective career success. Methodologically, this study looks at change over time by controlling for wave two values while studying wave three outcomes. This is unique among other studies performed using the NSFH data in the work-family domain (e.g. Cunningham, 2007; Noonan, 2001). From a practical standpoint, this study shifts focus onto the role of support from a committed partner to one's career success, rather than one's own career inputs. Importantly, I found that feeling supported by your spouse is key to subjective career success among long-married, dual-career couples. The effect held across genders and across full and part-time workers. This result is crucial given that half of all marriages are dual-career, and 63 percent of marriages with children are dual-career

(Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Recent research suggests that viewing your partner as a "secure base" and as dependably supportive is vital to overcoming career challenges (Petriglieri & Obodaru, 2019). Dual-career marriages face unique strains like work and family role overload, selecting career priorities, clashing work styles, competing job demands, and making sacrifices for your spouses' career (Haddock & Rattenborg, 2003; Jordan et al., 1989). Social support is an important mitigator of strains and stressors (Cohen et al., 1986; Cohen 1992), and social support has a myriad of positive physical, mental, and social outcomes (Lakey & Cohen, 2000), including career outcomes (e.g. Chen et al., 2012; Ford et al., 2007; Huffman et al., 2014).

4.2 Limitations

The National Survey of Family and Households is a rich longitudinal dataset. However, due to the age of the data, subjective career success was measured by one global item on job satisfaction. Individuals vary in what factors they use to gauge the success of their career (Greenhaus & Callanan, 2012). Heslin (2003) wrote that career success includes both actual and anticipated accomplishments, and that these may occur over a broader time frame than captured in a job satisfaction measure. In light of this, scholars in recent years have developed scales to capture subjective career success such as Greenhaus et al.'s (1990) Career Satisfaction Scale, and the Subjective Career Success Inventory by Shockley et al. (2016). The NSFH pre-dates the creation of these career satisfaction scales. Time at work and perceived spousal support may have a positive relationship with a facet of subjective career success that is not captured by this study's single job satisfaction item. In a similar fashion, perceived spousal support was also only measured with one item. Thus, participants may not have had the opportunity to express the full extent of the ways

they feel supported by their spouse. Spousal performance of household labor may better relate to an item specifically regarding perceived instrumental support, which would be captured by a multi-faceted support scale. While not present in this dataset, several validated multi-item, multi-faceted social support scales exist (e.g. Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley, 1988; Barrera, Sandler, & Ramsay, 1981).

From a methodological perspective, the data from waves two and three of the NSFH were collected over a period of 11 years. This period of time is arbitrary. The question of how to determine ideal intervals for collecting longitudinal data has long been debated (Mitchell & James, 2001; Pettigrew, 1990). Empirically, the literature on developing perceptions of support often utilizes much shorter periods of time, often just weeks or months (e.g. Bagger & Li, 2014; Cohen et al., 1986; Lakey et al., 2002; Lakey et al., 2010). Becker's (1964, 1965) theories on the allocation of time and return on human capital do not specify a particular timeframe, but they do suggest that effects can be fairly immediate. In this case 11 years may have been too long to capture relationships between wave two and wave three variables of interest.

4.3 Future Directions

This study was a first-step exploration using archival data into the longitudinal relationships between spousal performance of household labor, perceived spousal support, time at work, gender, and career success among full-time dual earning couples. Many of the limitations mentioned could be addressed in future studies. A longitudinal survey could be designed that includes multi-item, multi-factor measures of perceived spousal support and career success. The ISEL-12, a shortened form of the Interpersonal Support Evaluation

List, could be used to capture perceived spousal support (Cohen & Hoberman, 1983; Cohen, Mermelstein, Kamarck, & Hoberman, 1985). Like the item used in this study, the ISEL-12 captures perceived, or felt, support. However, it also captures three of the four possible dimensions of social support, including perceived instrumental support. Using this more holistic scale could better capture the feelings of perceived support engendered by spousal performance of tangible household labor. Additionally, using a subjective career success measure such as the Subjective Career Success Inventory (SCSI) (Shockley et al. 2016) would enable us to capture more facets of subjective career success. For example, the SCSI includes subscales for growth and development and quality of work among others, which may more directly benefit from spending time at work than job satisfaction.

The current study utilized only gender as a potential moderator in the model. Social support theory posits some potentially interesting covariates and boundary conditions that could be measured in a future study. While the relationship between spousal performance of household labor and perceived spousal support was not significant in this study, this relationship could be significant depending on the level of variables like trust in your spouse, or your level of positive and negative affect (Lakey & Cohen, 2000; Lakey et al., 2010). Further regarding gender, the current study utilized social role theory to posit that women who invest resources at work may be rewarded for their counter-stereotypical behavior. Social role theory dictates that men and women have deeply ingrained beliefs and stereotypes about how men and women should behave, at home and in the workplace. Future research could include a measure of gender attitudes, or gender role strength, in conjunction with gender itself to better understand the contribution of social role theory.

As mentioned, how to best determine ideal intervals for collecting longitudinal data in industrial-organizational psychology has long been discussed (Mitchell & James, 2001; Pettigrew, 1990). It is recommended to make theoretically-driven decisions whenever possible, considering how and when outcome variables may change over time (Mitchell & James, 2001). Marriages and careers endure over many years. Yet social support studies often utilize much shorter periods of time (e.g. Bagger & Li, 2014; Cohen et al., 1986; Lakey et al., 2002; Lakey et al., 2010), and economic theory suggests effects that could be immediate (Becker 1964, 1965). Based on the referenced empirical studies, the appropriate time interval for study could be a few months. Careful consideration must be given to the timing of data collection in future longitudinal studies.

APPENDIX A. SPOUSAL PERFORMANCE OF HOUSEHOLD LABOR ITEMS

Each of the following nine items were asked of the primary interview respondent and their current spouse in separate interviews. So, “Respondent” at the end of the question refers to the person currently answering the question.

Items:

1. HOURS PREPARE MEALS: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. a. Preparing meals: Respondent

2. HOURS WASHING DISHES: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. b. Washing dishes and cleaning up after meals: Respondent

3. HOURS CLEANING HOUSE: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. c. Cleaning house: Respondent

4. HOURS OUTDOOR TASKS: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. d. Outdoor and other household maintenance tasks: Respondent

5. HOURS SHOP GROCERIES: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. e. Shopping for groceries and other household goods: Respondent

6. HOURS WASH,IRON: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. f. Washing, ironing, mending: Respondent

7. HOURS PAYING BILLS: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. g. Paying bills and keeping financial records: Respondent

8. HOURS AUTO MAINTENANCE: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. h. Automobile maintenance and repair: Respondent

9. HOURS DRIVING: The questions on this page concern household tasks and who in the respondent's household normally spends time doing those tasks. i. Driving other household members to work, school or other activities: Respondent

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